

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 EUR-25 DRC-01 AID-20 /166 W

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R 110910Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7402

INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 13167

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CB, JA, VN, VS, LA

SUBJECT: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY STEARNS' DISCUSSIONS WITH
GOJ ON INDOCHINA

REF: STATE 187971

SUMMARY: DURING OCTOBER 3-6 VISIT TO TOKYO, EA DEP ASST.
SECY. STEARNS DISCUSSED USG AND GOJ ASSESSMENT OF AND
POLICIES TOWARD INDOCHINA WITH EMBASSY AND FONOFF OFFICIALS.
FONOFF ASIAN AFFAIRS BUREAU ASST. DIR. GEN. NAKAE INDICATED
GOJ POLICY IS BASED ON ASSUMPTION, WHEN PARIS ACCORDS
SIGNED, THAT AGREEMENTS WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED IN GOOD FAITH.
DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE WITH DRV AND AID PLANS BASED ON
THIS ASSUMPTION. FONOFF SOMEWHAT BEWILDERED BY SUBSE-
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QUENT DEVELOPMENTS WHICH DID NOT FULLY TALLY WITH THEIR
EXPECTATIONS. NAKAE REQUESTED GREATER EXCHANGES OF
ASSESSMENT AND INTELLIGENCE ON INDOCHINA. SUBSEQUENT
MEETING WITH VICE FOMIN HOGEN FURTHER CLARIFIED USG

VIEWS FOR JAPANESE, WITH HOGEN INDICATING AGREEMENT
WITH US ASSESSMENT AND POLICIES TOWARD INDOCHINA.
END SUMMARY..

1. EA DEPT. ASST. SECY STEARNS VISITED TOKYO OCT 3-6,
MEETING WITH EMBASSY AND FONOFF OFFICIALS TO DISCUSS
JAPANESE ASSESSMENT OF AND POLICIES TOWARD INDOCHINA.
HE MET AMERICAN AFFAIRS AND ASIAN AFFAIRS BUREAU OFFICIALS,
INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BUREAU DIR. GEN. MIKANAGI
(REPORTED SEPTEL), AND VICE FONMIN HOGEN. MAJOR POINTS
OF DISCUSSIONS FOLLOW.

2. IN MEETING WITH DEP DIR GEN ASIA BUREAU NAKAE (BUREAU
DIR GEN TAKASHIMA WAS ON TOUR OF INDOCHINA), STEARNS PROVIDED
US ASSESSEMENT OF TRENDS IN INDOCHINA, EMPHASIZING THAT
DOMINANT DRV OBJECTIVE CONTINUES TO BE CONTROL OF SVN.
STEARNS SAID WE VIEW WITH REAL CONCERN CONSPICUOUS NORTH VIET-
NAMESE MILITARY BUILDUP IN AREAS UNDER DRV/PRG CONTROL. HE
DESCRIBED RELATIVELY STRONG AND EFFECTIVE PERFORMANCE OF
ARVN AND PRES. THIEU. HE NOTED SITUATION ALSO LOOKING
SOMEWHAT MORE STABLE IN CAMBODIA. MILITARY STALEMATE MAY
BE DEVELOPING, OUT OF WHICH A COMPROMISE POLITICAL SETTLEMENT
COULD EVENTUALLY EMERGE. WE WOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE
TO STRENGTHEN GKR AND HOPED JAPAN WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO
THIS TASK, NTOABLY BY QUICK SUPPLY OF URGENTLY NEEDED
RICE AND BY STABILIZATION ASSISTANCE. SPEAKING OF PROPOSED
JAPANESE AID TO NORTH VIETNAM, STEARNS SAID WE HOPE GOJ
AID PROCESS COULD BE PROTRACTED AND THAT IN DEALINGS WITH
DRV GOJ WOULD EXACT ALL POSSIBLE LEVERAGE TO DISCOURAGE
DRV FROM RESORTING TO FORCE TO GAIN ITS OBJECTIVES IN
INDOCHINA.

3. NAKAE RESPONDED WITH TWO MAIN POINTS. FIRST, FONOFF WAS
CONCERNED THAT GOJ HAS NOT HAD ADEQUATE ACCESS TO USG
THINGKING AND ASSESSMENTS OF SITUATION IN INDOCHINA AND
ASKED THAT THEY BE MORE FULLY INFORMED IN SAIGON, WASHINGTON,
TOKYO, AND PARIS. HE NOTED THAT PRIOR TO PARIS AGREEMENT,
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NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FOUR PARTIES TO AGREEMENT HAD BEEN
SECRET. FOLLOWING ANNOUNCEMENT OF AGREEMENT, JAPAN COULD
ONLY ASSUME THAT PARTIES HAD SIGNED IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH
EXPECTATION THAT AGREEMENT WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED. GOJ
DECISION TO GO AHEAD WITH HANOI WAS BASED ON THAT
ASSUMPTION, WHICH WAS FORMED WITHOUT CLOSE KNOWLEDGE
OF U.S. OR OTHER ASSESSMENTS. SECOND POINT STEMMED FROM
FOLLOWING CONLUSIONS. JAPAN ARDENTLY WELCOMED PEACE
IN INDOCHINA. JAPAN'S BODY POLITIC ACCEPTED THIS CHANGED
SITUATION. IN RECOGNITION OF NEW SITUATION, GOJ'S POLICY
UNDERWENT CHANGE. AS ASIAN POWER, JAPAN BELIEVED THAT
IT SHOULD BE IN DIRECT CONTACT WITH DRV. NEGOTIATION OF
EXCHANGE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH DRV RESULTED. AS

CONCOMITANT TO POST-PARIS PERIOD AND DIPLOMATIC EXCHANGE, GOJ CONCLUDED THAT POSITIVE GESTURES WERE REQUIRED. NAKAE CONFIRMED THAT AID TO DRV WAS POSITIVE GESTURE WHICH WOULD GIVE SUBSTANCE TO GOJ'S NEW POLICY AND RELATIONS WITH DRV. JAPAN'S POLICY WAS THUS SET. USG POLICY STATEMENTS AT TIME PEACE AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED INDICATED THAT US PLANNED SIMILAR MOVES. GOJ WAS SOMEWHAT DEWILDERED NOW THAT SITUATION IN INDOCHINA WAS NOT AS JAPANESE HAD ANTICIPATED, PEACE HAD NOT BEEN FULLY REALIZED, AND SIGNALS FROM US SEEMED TO HAVE CHANGED. NAKAE SAID GOJ WAS WELL AWARE OF NVN'S MILITARY BUILD-UP IN SVN AND THAT DRV HAD NOT CHANGED ITS OBJECTIVE OF TAKING OVER SVN BY ONE MEANS OR ANOTHER. HOWEVER, DRV MILITARY POSTURE NOW COULD NOT REVERSE NEW ERA WHICH PARIS AGREEMENT USHERED IN. SINCE EXPERIENCE HAD DEMONSTRATED THAT SITUATION WAS NOT ALWAYS WHAT IT WAS SAID TO BE, NAKAE ASKED THAT GOJ BE INFORMED ON CONTINUING BASIS OF "BLUEPRINT" UNDERLYING DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA (APPARENTLY IMPLYING THAT USG IN PRIVY TO FUNDAMENTAL STRATEGY OF ALL MAJOR PARTICIPANTS AND, THEREFORE, IN POSITION TO ACCURATELY ASSESS INDOCHINA'S FUTURE.)

4. STEARNS ASSURED NAKAE THAT WE WISH TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH JAPANESE ON INDOCHINA AND TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION AS FULLY AS POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, HE NOTED THAT USG HAD NOT FIRM "BLUEPRINT." WE HAVE NOT ABANDONED HOPE DRV WOULD GIVE UP MILITARY AMBITIONS IN SOUTH, BUT THAT FOR PRESENT AND FORESEEABLE FUTURE BEST DETERRENCE WOULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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BE STRONG AND COHESIVE INDOCHINESE GOVTS THAT WOULD RESIST DRV PRESSURES. STEARNS REITERATED STRONG HOPE GOJ WOULD NOT GIVE DRV "BLANK CHECK" AID WHICH COULD BE

TRANSLATED INTO NVN MILITARY POTENTIAL AGAINST SVN. HE

STATED THAT USG POLICY WOULD CONTINUE TO BE FULL SUPPORT FOR GVN AND GOVERNMENTS OF CAMBODIA AND LAOS.

5. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS ON COMBODIA, STEARNS EMPHASIZED NECESSITY FOR AVOIDING COLLAPSE FROM WITHIN, PARTICULARLY DURING PERIOD WHEN CONDITIONS FAVORABLE TO SETTLEMENT SEEM TO BE DEVELOPING. HE DESCRIBED URGENT REQUIREMENTS FOR RICE DURING CRITICAL NEXT THREE MONTHS AND REQUESTED STRENUOUS GOJ EFFORTS TO PROVIDE 5000 METRIC TONS RICE BY EARLY NOVEMBER.

6. NAKAE SAID THEY WERE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE EARLY SHIPMENT, NOTING THAT FONOFF DEPENDED ON MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE WHICH IS CURRENTLY TRYING TO OBTAIN SCARCE RICE, PERHAPS EVEN "BORROWING" FROM STOCKS SLATED FOR PHILLIPPINES AND INDONESIA.

7. IN SUBSEQUENT CALL OMUVICE FONMIN HOGEN, STEARNS
REVIEWED AGAIN OUR ASSESSMENT OF INDOCHINA SITUATION.
HOGEN INDICATED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH ASSESSMENT AND
CONCURRED IN STEARNS' VIEWS ON BEST COURSE FOR BOTH
GOVERNMENTS IN NEAR FUTURE. HE AGREED THAT JAPAN
SHOULD NOT RUSH INTO CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH HANOI
AND THAT AID SHOULD BE PROGRAMMED AND DISPENSED IN
MEASURED MANNER OVER AS LONG A PERIOD AS POSSIBLE. HE
INDICATED AGREEMENT THAT JAPAN SHOULD MAKE KNOWN TO
HANOI ITS OBJECTION TO ANY RESORT TO FORCE ON HANOI'S

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-15

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 EUR-25 DRC-01 AID-20 AGR-20

EB-11 COME-00 /197 W

----- 073412

R 110910Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

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PART TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVES IN SVN. IN RESPONSE TO
STRONG APPEAL FOR RAPID HELP ON RICE FOR CAMBODIA, HOGEN
NOTED RICE NOW IN SHORT SUPPLY IN JAPAN BUT SAID GOJ WAS
DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO MAKE DELIVERY.

8. COMMENT: IN RECENT WEEKS AT FONOFF WORKING LEVEL,
WE HAD PERCEIVED SOME PESSIMISM OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN
INDOCHINA SINCE SIGNING OF PARIS AGREEMENT, AND AS A
RESULT SOME SOFTENING OF SUPPORT FOR USG POLICIES. STEARNS

PROVIDED EFFECTIVE ANTIDOTE, IN THAT HE LAID DOWN CLEAR
ANALYSIS OF CURRENT SITUATION IN INDOCHINA AND AUTHORITATIVE
CLARIFICATION OF USG ATTITUDES AND POLICIES FLOWING
FROM THAT ANALYSIS. WE THEREFORE HAVE SOME HOPE THAT
HIS VISIT WILL PROVE TO HAVE STRENGTHENED GOJ SUPPORT
FOR USG POLICIES IN INDOCHINA, PARTICULARLY IF DEPTOFFS
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CAN FOLLOW UP FROM TIME TO TIME WITH JAPANESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON. GOJ PLEA FOR MORE INFORMATION FROM US, AS NOTED
ABOVE, IS NOT COMPLETELY REALISTIC, BUT WE MIGHT GET DIVI-
DENDS FROM EFFORTS TO ACCORD THEM APPROPRIATE ATTENTION IN
RELATION TO ASSESSMENTS AS WELL AS INTELLIGENCE, HERE, IN
SEA POSTS AND IN WASHINGTON.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 OCT 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: willialc
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TOKYO13167
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731066/abqcekxj.tel
Line Count: 236
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: STATE 187971
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: willialc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <21-Nov-2001 by willialc>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY STEARNS' DISCUSSIONS WITH GOJ ON INDOCHINA
TAGS: PFOR, CB, JA, VN, VS, LA
To: STATE INFO SAIGON
BANGKOK
PHNOM PENH
VIENTIANE
MANILA
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PEKING

HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005